The COMMONWEAL

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Death of a Revolution

THERE had been a parade and the King and Mussolini had been there and for days the students had been marching in a perpetually renewed frenzy of well-ordered hate in front of one consulate or another, one embassy or another, but the place where you best could see the troops was on the Via Nazionale as they marched to entrain. No one was reviewing them then; no one save the Romans. The troops were tired from all the reviewing; the bands were tired of playing *Giovinezza,* the bugles of announcing the presence of the Duce: the men marched to the drums alone. If they had not been in line and if they had not been dressed as they were with their helmets and their packs and their rifles one would have said they were factory workers tired by the day's work. The crowds on the sidewalk threw no flowers: no girls marched beside the troops; no children followed the silent band. The troops were marching to entrain for Naples and the Roman crowd was silent and embarrassed.

In Naples the local bands played them aboard ship: local committees threw flowers—for a few hours there was some enthusiasm among those who were not departing. The army of Ethiopia sailed away to conquer. Graziani's men.

Viewed simply as a military operation, the Ethiopian campaign was hard work, dirty work, and the Italians could stand the heat and the hard work. They built roads. They organized a tremendous amount of supplies, transportation and men, and after a time workmen added Ethiopia to the marble map of the Roman Empire which Mussolini had erected in the Forum to show that what he saw now in the future was a reconstruction of the past.

A fascist revolution grows cold as other revolutions grow cold—only faster. Ethiopia, the black jewel of the Empire, openly marked the end of whatever hope for greater social justice had filled the hearts of many militants and had given vigorous intent to the plans of some theorists. The Italian social experiment was over. True to the pattern of the dead revolution, fascist Italy turned to military adventure. Spain, Albania. The dead revolution sent young Italians abroad to bring death to the men of other countries, but they carried with them no faith and no message. They were named the "have-nots"—perhaps because their homes had been taken from them, and their work, and their fields, and the factory bench, and their games, and their girls.

One could argue about Italian fascism before Ethiopia, before Spain, before the Albanian Good Friday. After these events the die was cast. The fatal logic of conquest possessed Italian leadership: the Axis became its inexorable consequence.

What all this has meant has been the slow breaking of the hearts and hopes of Italians. The hearts of the soldiers and of their families at home. The hearts, too, of their leaders. We believe in none of the stories of cowardice: we can understand an immense fatigue. Even the professional officers, men devoted to the army and to their country, are exhausted. Badoglio has given up, and that younger man, the cruel and expert colonial soldier, Graziani, has given up. All these men are servants now of a wider purpose and a purpose which is not Italian. The officers and the troops and the people of Italy are at the service of another country: their leader at the service of another leader—their revolution spoiled and discredited.

Twenty Bishops Plead for the Hungry

TWENTY members of the Catholic hierarchy in this country, headed by Cardinal O'Connell and Archbishops McNicholas and Floersch, have approved of the Hoover plan of food relief in conquered Europe. Their Excellencies, speaking "as individual American citizens," declare that "the exigencies of even a just war do not require that millions of innocent children, women and noncombatants be made to endure famine," and add this warning—as gravely necessary as anything that can be imagined regarding the moral aspect of the war—"A victory built on the dead bodies of . . . innocent victims of the war over which

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they had no control, will destroy human sentiments that must necessarily enter into any form of enduring peace." The statement justifies the attitude it proclaims by the safeguards with which the Committee on Food for Small Democracies has carefully surrounded its project to prevent the German forces from benefiting thereby. It closes with an appeal to the Holy Father's plea that Christians make it their task to "help the bodies and raise the spirits" of war's victims, and with a prayer that "those who guide the destinies of nations will be conscious of their obligation to protect the innocent."

This moving document may not produce its full effect, but it seems on the whole more likely to produce some effect than it would have a few weeks ago. Opposition to the feeding of the conquered does not abate in force or articulateness, but there is also a gradual growth in the sentiment favoring the Hoover plan, or at any rate favoring a further study of the question. It may be this sentiment, quite as much as particular war policy, which moved the Administration recently, hence also the British blockade, to pass a Red Cross food ship to unoccupied France. It was a distinctly hopeful development, especially after Mr. Raymond Clapper's Washington despatch that the Administration meant to make a demonstration of the fact that Germany could not feed the territory she had taken on. *That* left one wondering what might be thought to constitute a demonstration—whether a given number of conquered children, say, would have to starve outright, or whether half- or three-quarters starvation would be sufficient. Now the situation may be changing a little; it may be possible to get some food into Belgium and Holland, if only the amount stipulated by Mr. Hoover for his opening experiment. And if this can be done, an orderly and adequate food scheme will follow. Our people in the mass will remember what more individuals remember every day. That hunger is a simple and frightful thing. That decent people feed the hungry. That a price must occasionally be paid for decency. If this were not true, indeed, the beleaguered British, when hunger pinches and ships run short, would simply kill their prisoners.

We Still Have Unemployment

PRIOR to the draft and the Lend-Lease program the papers carried progressively encouraging reports from Secretary Perkins and others on national reemployment. So much was made of this trend that we felt constrained to point out that the new jobs were for the most part in non-productive industries, which would collapse on the advent of peace. National rearmament and munitions making for the British provide no solution for the problem posed so forcefully by the crash of '29; they would in fact eventually lead to even deeper depression. But the feeling grew that the unemployment problem could be forgotten at least for the duration of the war. It is startling then to learn that with more than a million men recently added to America's armed forces and several millions more newly employed on defense projects there are, according to government agencies cited by the Associated Press, 9,000,000 still unemployed today. Or to hear that although working at 99 percent capacity Pittsburgh steel plants employed only 4 percent more men in 1940 than they did in 1939. The 3,000,000 new men to be hired on defense projects by midsummer will still leave plenty of unemployment. Apparently the prospects of making a little money have added 3,500,000 more workers to the labor market since last June, and there are more idle men than ever seeking work in the defense areas. One thing this indicates unmistakably is the fallacy of the prime-the-pump theory of solving unemployment. And if present tendencies are allowed to continue, America will one day be faced with the reality of supporting one-third or more of our potential of able-bodied workers in enforced idleness. Adequate social reconstruction will be delayed as long as many of us remain content with the continuance of a system which casts off as economically useless so many million human hands.

Strikes

"THEY'LL print pictures of workers roughing up a cop's car," said the elevator man, "but how about pictures of State Troopers conking strikers with three-foot clubs? The public isn't supposed to see that!" . . . The AFL helps break a CIO strike at Harvester. . . . The town of Bethlehem says the situation is out of control, and asks the Governor of Pennsylvania to send the State police, which he does. . . . The New York *Post* reports that there wasn't any violence in Bethlehem to get out of control. . . . David Lawrence: "There is nothing so disheartening nowadays as the unrealistic attitude assumed by those government agencies which still maintain their reform-as-usual point of view." . . . The NAM still wants new labor legislation, to equalize the "injustices" of the Wagner Act. . . .

Despite the President's calmness, strikes are slowing up the defense program, and public opinion would seem to be turning against strikes. Naturally, as is always the case with up-swings, the unions see a chance to get wage increases and better working conditions, and some union leaders are Stalinists and want strikes. The situation is complex; divided labor in no way makes it simpler. The essential is: to preserve for labor the gains it has won. The problem is: for labor not to go so far as to find itself hoist with its own petar; for

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capital not to succeed in its own selfish aims behind a mask of "national emergency." It is conceivable that organized, and especially expert, labor will constitute the profiteer class of this war. It is still more easily conceivable that in an all-out rush for efficiency and production, free labor as well as free business will be meshed finally into a centrally organized and forcefully unified industrial mass, the whole thing subject to a government machine for which the political field will be only one coordinated province. The time we live is amazingly propitious for those who would obscure issues; and the problems of labor, little known and less understood by the public, are particularly easy to obscure. That at least every friend of labor must remember and preach. . . . And if you want a war, this is one of the things it gets you.

Forum

THOSE of us who are opposed to sending American boys into another European blood bath are now labeled defeatists. From our point of view, such a policy is nothing more than plain Yankee common sense.

It is quite probably true that the young men and women of my generation—those who don't remember much about World War I but who have been subjected, at a most impressionable period, to all the bitter disillusionment of the post-war era—are hard-boiled realists who refuse to be uplifted or carried away by the same sort of propaganda nonsense that sent our boys "over there" a quarter of a century ago.

So far as we are concerned, there will be no more foreign crusades. Our idealism has not been seriously injured. We will go on being idealists. But in the future our idealism will be applied strictly to home conditions. It will be the driving power behind movements for social justice, for democracy and for Christianity, in Flatbush and on Main Street. We have no God-given mandate to convert the nazis with bayonets and poison gas. But we do have an inescapable responsibility to uphold the Christian way of life in our own nation, in our own city, in our own neighborhood.

We should like to inquire why there was no great hullabaloo some years ago that we should help suffering Europe extricate itself from the clutches of godless materialism, godless imperialism, godless power politics, godless communism. There did not seem to be much emphasis, at that time, upon our moral right to help the rest of Christendom in its fight against the powers of evil. Was that defeatism or cowardice?

Only a few years ago we found it possible to live the good life, as we considered it, when a large area of the world was living under the communist terror. In fact, conditions in Mexico were barbarous enough to satisfy anyone. But very few people paid any attention to the horrors just across the Rio Grande. It would appear, therefore, that moral indignation resembles a water faucet that is being turned on and off at the control and direction—of whom? That is what we would like to know.

It now appears that Britain, Greece and China are democracies. Incidentally, I should like to give three rousing boos for the plutocratic snobs of Upper Tooting. Tomorrow we will be told that Turkey and Yugoslavia have suddenly become democracies. There is no "moral embargo" today against Soviet Russia. Tomorrow we will be told that Joe Stalin smokes Bull Durham and plays a good hand of poker. This sort of thing does not inspire confidence among the young men and women of America. We simply have no faith at all in those who are pulling the strings by which we are supposed to grin and dance. In fact, we have come to the conclusion that those who are pulling the strings are liars and hypocrites. The burden of proof to the contrary rests with them. They have been proved so in the past. And we are amazed that many well-meaning Christians, particularly Catholics, are, whether they realize it or not, being led around by the nose.

The English are putting up, from all accounts, a great fight. But so did we Americans at the time of the San Francisco fire and earthquake. But when the American crisis passed, so also vanished the sudden and unexpected era of Christian brotherhood. Thus will it be when the present crisis is over in Europe. The same old gang of Uriah Heeps will sit down at the same old conference table, utter the same old silly platitudes, make the same old pontifical gestures, strike the same old Galahad poses, issue the same old uplift formulas, and then get down seriously to the dirty business of carving up the world again so that privilege may be more strongly entrenched than ever before and better able to grind down the faces of the poor.

If England is serious about Christianity, civilization and democracy, why doesn't England do something *now* to settle once and for all the partition question in Ireland? Why doesn't England do something *now* to right a terrible wrong in India? Why doesn't England give some slight small indication that she has learned something from the past and that, if she wins, the world of tomorrow will more closely approximate Christian standards of justice, decency and fair play?

In the meantime, the young men and women of America will continue to exert themselves to the utmost to realize the American dream. If our elders regard that as defeatism, let them make the best of it.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR.

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France under the Swastika

A discussion of Professor Mercier's article: "The New French Régime"

By **Yves R. Simon**

BEFORE discussing the views recently published by Professor Mercier about the government of Marshal Pétain, I wish to emphasize the unusual frankness shown by the author in the revelation of his sources. Unlike so many writers of contemporary history, he does not claim to use any secret information, nor does he tell any story from behind the scenes. It is plain to the reader that the substance of Professor Mercier's article is drawn from a propaganda pamphlet issued by the "Comité France-Amérique," which contains several speeches of Marshal Pétain accompanied by footnotes. I should like also to say that the following discussion will be concerned with the historical interpretations made by Professor Mercier rather than with his doctrinal position. Finally I should like to have it understood that the personal character of Marshal Pétain and the purity of his intentions will not be called in question.

The way that Professor Mercier starts his article shows that he intends to reassure American patriots about the policy of the Vichy government toward Great Britain: "So long as Marshal Pétain is in control, France will make no move detrimental to England." Even if the truth of this conditional statement were taken for granted, the condition would still look disquieting to those who have understood that the liberation of France, as well as the preservation of American liberties, is staked on the victory of Great Britain. Whatever may be the health and the lucidity of Marshal Pétain, his age makes it necessary to consider that the enduring character of his policy will depend on his official or non-official successor. Now, although M. Pierre Laval is no longer the constitutionally appointed successor of the Marshal, we have exceedingly good reasons to think that the worst enemies of Great Britain are eagerly awaiting a chance of having one of them control what is left of France. They even seem to be in quite a good position to achieve their desire.

Professor Mercier reminds us that Marshal Pétain "was called to the government in order that a great soldier whom all France revered should be the one to ask for the necessary armistice." This is a far-reaching observation. Imagine that the armistice had been asked for by some ordinary politician: it would not have been possible to present to the French people the acceptance of the nazi victory as a patriotic duty; the Free French forces would now be ten times as strong as they are; the French empire would have continued, or resumed, the struggle on the side of Great Britain; the fascist army would have been swept from Africa, the fascist navy from the Mediterranean, and we should not, today, hear of nazi forces operating in Libya. Such developments were to be avoided at any price. *Is fecit cui prodest!* It was a good thing for Hitler to have his ambiguous personality sponsored, in the eyes of the German people, by the venerable Marshal von Hindenberg; it was also a good thing for him to have his victory over France solemnly recognized by Marshal Pétain.

French honor

Particular attention should be paid to the observations of Professor Mercier on the way that the honor of France has been supposedly preserved in the midst of the French disaster. It is perfectly clear that a defeated nation may have to submit to conditions outrageous to her honor. But Professor Mercier does not think that such were the conditions imposed on France by the victorious nazis: "Like Francis I," Professor Mercier says, "he [Marshal Pétain] could say: 'Everything is lost,' but like him he could add: 'save honor.'" Yet there is in the Armistice Convention a certain Article 19 which includes the following provision: "The French Government is obliged to surrender upon demand all Germans designated by the German Government in France, as well as in the French possessions, colonies, protectorate territories and mandates. . . ." As Professor Mercier quotes Francis I, I should like to quote another king of France who, when it was demanded of him that he deliver a political refugee, answered that hospitality was one of the most beautiful jewels of the French Crown. Everybody knows that a number of German refugees have fought in the armies of the French Republic against the common enemy of the French people and of the German people: a Marshal of France pledged himself to deliver them, *upon demand,* to the executioner. I insist upon the fact that Professor Mercier does not content himself with observing that the Armistice Convention has

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been imposed on a helplessly defeated nation: he makes the contention that it was not contrary to French honor. He has obviously forgotten Article 19. On the other hand, I have received just today, from a German refugee who narrowly escaped the provisions of Article 19, a letter praising, with a kind of religious admiration, the hospitable virtues of the French people. . . .

When he speaks so emphatically of the preservation of French honor, Professor Mercier has in mind the fact that the French navy has not been surrendered, although Marshal Pétain could have obtained, if he had consented to the surrender of the navy, an alleviation of some clauses of the Armistice Convention. "It may therefore be readily understood what a shock the British attack on the French fleet proved to be." Professor Mercier implies that the Battle of Oran was an unjustifiable aggression. Under his argument lies this assumption: the unquestioned sincerity of Marshal Pétain was a sufficient guarantee that the French fleet would not be used against Great Britain. The British authorities could not share in such an optimistic illusion. They knew very well that the use of the French fleet did not depend only on the will of Marshal Pétain, but also on the willingness of the nazis, and of the French pro-nazis, to have the Armistice Convention conscientiously respected. They knew too well the cost of any reliance upon the promises of the nazis and upon those of their allies. Some day the French marines who died at Oran will be worshipped by the French people as obscure heroes whose sacrifice, consummated in the horror of an absolute darkness, was really dedicated to the liberation of their country through the victory of Great Britain.

Developing the reasons why the request for an armistice appeared inevitable, Professor Mercier does not even mention the possibilities of resistance in North Africa: this, however, is the whole point. Nobody has ever doubted that the situation of the French army, on the national soil, was entirely hopeless. It would not be fair, either, to condemn without qualification the Government of Marshal Pétain for his failure to foresee the astonishing *redressement* of the British people and the victories of the British forces over Italy. At any rate, a sound discussion of the armistice cannot be abstracted from the existence of the French empire.

Professor Mercier holds that the establishment of the Pétain Government was entirely legal. This is a controversial question of very little relevance so far as the requirements of the present situation are concerned. The question is not whether or not the letter of the law has been observed in the abolition of the French Republic under the pressure of the enemy. The question is rather to determine the meaning of the "new régime" whose establishment, vainly attempted in time of peace, had finally been made possible by the disaster of the French armies. Legal forms were surely not observed in the establishment of the government of National Defense, in September, 1870, right after the defeat of the imperial army by the Prussians. The meaning of the Government of National Defense of September, 1870, was clear: this government plainly represented the resolution of the French people engaged in a desperate struggle against the conqueror. The greater part of Professor Mercier's article sets out to explain the meaning of the régime presided over by Marshal Pétain.

New régime's program

Here it is particularly expedient to think of the source referred to by Professor Mercier: a propaganda pamphlet containing official speeches adorned with footnotes. Contrasting with the images of horror that are ceaselessly haunting our minds, the program of the "new régime" gives us the refreshing picture of an idyll. The new régime will not fail to recognize the power of the profit motive, but measures will be taken to prevent money from becoming a means of domination; both socialism and international capitalism will be done away with; harmony will be established in farms and factories; education will get rid of individualism while exalting the rights of the human person; competence will be substituted for incompetence; the humanities will be encouraged, together with the theoretical and applied sciences; all antinomies will be solved: diversity and unity, traditions and progress, etc. There will be a return to handicraft methods, but the countryside will get water and electricity; French reactionaries will be delighted, but American democracy will be pleased also. In the last columns of his article, Professor Mercier no longer alludes to the fact that the nazis occupy three-fifths of French soil, dominate almost the whole of continental Europe and hold 1,800,000 young Frenchmen in their prison-camps. Yet he has written: "How far then the program of the new French régime can be carried out in the occupied regions is not made clear."

Those armies of occupation are quite a nuisance.

According to Professor Mercier, the philosophy of the new régime is the antithesis of nazism. If this is true, the new régime will not be given the slightest chance to realize its projects unless nazi domination over France and Europe is brought to an end. The reasons why this conclusion cannot appear in Professor Mercier's article are very significant. For it is evident to everybody that when the nazi power ends, the new régime will be swept away by the French people. *Willingly or not, the Vichy Government has staked its destiny on the defeat of Great Britain.* Marshal Pétain himself, in public pronouncements

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which are not quoted by Professor Mercier, has recognized that collaboration with the conqueror was expedient and necessary. Is there any doubt about the kind of collaboration that the conqueror is expecting from France? I sincerely believe that there are, among the members of the Vichy Government and its followers, a number of convinced patriots who are eagerly longing for the day when their country will be liberated from a detested yoke. If those patriots really believe in the new régime and want to have it preserved as an indispensable basis of a regenerated France, they cannot help wishing for the defeat of Great Britain, while indulging the fantastic illusion that nazi Germany, after having completed her victory, will give up her control over the conquered countries, give up the myth of the New Order, and, in a great gesture of generosity and friendly understanding, offer France a chance to become again an independent nation, free to put into effect a philosophy which is just the "antithesis of nazism"!

French liberation

People who are not willing to deceive themselves with such foolish illusions realize that the liberation of France has not the least chance of being brought about except through a crushing British victory. Consequently, whatever may be their personal view of the philosophy embodied in the program of the new régime, they consider the will to preserve the new régime thoroughly incompatible with the will to assure the restoration of France and the liberation of the world. The deliverance of the conquered countries in Europe and Asia, the preservation of American liberties are identified with the victory of Great Britain: that victory means the breakdown of the so-called new French régime. It is not possible to carry on any propaganda in favor of the "new French régime" without weakening the resolution on which depend the liberation of France and the liberation of the world. This is a point that ought to be perfectly clear to every free Frenchman and to every citizen of any free country.

As I suggested at the beginning of this paper, my disagreement with Professor Mercier is mostly concerned with the interpretation of the political history of contemporary France. It is my conviction that Professor Mercier has missed the historical meaning of the Vichy government. Professor Mercier takes it for granted that the Vichy régime can be identified with the person of Marshal Pétain and that the actual achievements of Marshal Pétain's government cannot fail to agree with the philosophy expressed in his speeches. More attention paid to the ideological and political developments that have taken place in France during the last years of the Republic would reveal the true historical character of Marshal Pétain's régime: *a transitional régime, intended to make possible a thorough domination of the international nazis over the French people.* It goes without saying that it is not the intention of Marshal Pétain to have his government utilized for such purposes. But the good will of a man is no match for the historical forces with which his action is inevitably bound up.

Whoever has observed the political life of France in the last few years knows that there were in France at the time the war broke out a number of powerful people for whom nothing was more important than doing away with democratic liberties and substituting for them some kind of fascist or nazi organization. Those people called themselves nationalists and most of them indeed came from the sections of French society in which the nationalist party has been traditionally accustomed to recruit its adherents. Whether or not they were conscious of betraying their country, the fact is that their policy in the years preceding the war, during the war, and after the collapse has been treacherous. They have been the more or less unconscious instruments of Hitler; rather than see Great Britain win the war and the French Republic restored, most of them are ready to become—nay, they already are—his fully conscious instruments. They could not seize the government right after the military collapse; the French would have considered them as so many Quislings and possibly made them powerless. Patriots had to be reassured. A transition was necessary. A compromise was expedient. The French supporters of the dictators, in order to carry out their designs safely, needed a man whose name was a symbol of patriotism; they needed a conservative; they needed a Catholic. They needed a régime whose philosophy could be held out to the world as the "antithesis of nazism" (except in so far as the Jewish question is concerned; this exception is big with consequence). They have devised the new régime of Marshal Pétain. But we have not forgotten the decisive rôle played by quite a number of nationalists, conservatives and Catholics, real or so-called, conscious or not, in the delivery of their countries to the nazi tyranny.

Consolation

The friendly rat
will keep your house
when you are gone:
the loving bat
will tend your hearth,
the toad, your lawn.
You will be missed
by serpents, and the fly
will mourn your passing;
the tender worm will cry.

Tom Boggs.

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The Decline of Marxism

What has happened to the most dynamic of nineteenth century gospels.

By Goetz A. Briefs

THE HIGH TIDE of pre-World-War-I socialism broke within a few hectic years. Rising with the impetus of a new religion for the toiling masses in the Europe of the second half of the nineteenth century and displaying a vigorous claim to dominate the future of mankind, Marxian socialism disappeared both as a gospel and as a movement with a speed unprecedented in the history of such phenomena. The magical seduction which the movement and the theory of Marxism represented for at least two generations is superseded by a profound disenchantment, as Max Weber would call it. An authority like W. Sombart could assume, some three decades ago, that the proletariat would turn Marxist and that all socialism tended toward merging into Marxism—indeed, a far cry from the present realities. W. Sombart himself, in a post-war publication ("Proletarian Socialism," 1925) took cognizance of the tremendous change that already (in 1925) was taking place. Our present situation reveals to a much higher degree the catastrophe that befell Marxism. W. Gurian ("The Rise and Decline of Marxism," 1937) maintains that the Marxist movement had neither the backing of youth nor that of the masses, "and what is still more deadly: that it no longer has a future." Marxian socialism is now "nothing more than a reactionary, impermanent phenomenon that was brought about by the conditions prevalent in the nineteenth century." It will pass away with them.

The question as to the real historical potential and meaning of Marxism arises. It may be said: all right, we know the creed of Marxism; we are agreed that it influenced the labor movement by providing the intellectual, moral and propagandistic paraphernalia of a mass movement, and that it was the strongest inspiration for the proletariat in the nineteenth century. But what was the *reality* of Marxism? Gurian gives the answer: democratic participation for the worker (meaning full and equal citizens' rights) and an expanded system of social legislation aiding the workers by providing a certain stability, security and decency of life. It cannot be doubted that Marxism indeed has achieved very much in this regard. The avalanche of Marxist votes in the industrialized countries of Europe served as a warning to the ruling classes; it urged the states to pass social legislation and to enlarge the suffrage; it sharpened the social conscience of employers and molded public opinion; it destroyed the complacent belief of liberals and individualists in the harmony of a competitive system; it shook the wicked optimism of those who entrusted the peace and welfare of industrial society to self-interest and "business." All this is certainly true. But it is not necessarily to the credit of Marxism as a theory of the labor movement. Orthodox Marxism did *not* put much confidence in democracy nor in social legislation; in fact, representatives of orthodox Marxian thought at times vigorously protested, and always felt uneasy about the direction things were taking. It is not to be forgotten how negative the attitude of German Marxism was toward the German social security laws of the 80's and 90's, and how disturbed it was when trade unionism came to be a major interest of the German workers after the turn of the century. Neither is it to be forgotten how hostile the orthodox wing of the Social Democratic Party was toward the early beginnings of workers' cooperatives. For decades, democratic rights and social legislation appear as a by-product rather than an end of the Marxist movement. There was a departure from the line of orthodoxy when democracy, social legislation and unionism came to be accepted as ends of the Marxist movement. The great landmark here was the Mannheim agreement of 1906. It acknowledged the right of the German Federation of Trade and Labor Unions to follow its own road, emancipated from the direction and supervision of the Social Democratic Party, with the provision that neither the Federation nor the Party should take any important steps without consultation. Without formally denouncing the Marxian creed the trade unions—the backbone of the Party—had a free hand to go ahead along union lines, unimpeded by considerations of Marxian orthodoxy. Outwardly not much seemed to have been changed. Inwardly a process of estrangement went on, and at the outbreak of the War in 1914 it became evident how far party orthodoxy and trade unions had become alienated; the trade unions council voted to support the German Government before the Party had time to meet.

With the ascendancy of trade-unionism, Marxism as a mass creed was increasingly transformed

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into a non-obligatory faith and a promise. Union leaders and unionists are matter-of-fact realists. Wherever a creed interferes with their aims and activities, it is the faith which has to give way, or at least recede into the background. In a way Marxism wrought for its faith the same fate which liberalism had wrought for Christianity; it relegated it to the background as a private affair. It de-publicized it, thereby emasculating it. Lenin was perfectly correct when he stated that the workers, left to themselves, would build up unions and would not devise socialism. The development of Marxism shows that socialism and in particular Marxism was a *creed* brought to labor *from without,* a creed grown on non-proletarian class soil, a creed accepted willingly in those periods when labor was faced with hopelessness, misery and despair for the future. It was a creed which the most progressive workers of the industrial world, those of England and the United States, rejected but which was eagerly embraced by those toiling masses that were still on this side of the Rubicon of misery and of curtailment of their rights as citizens. Inescapably, as the economic and social conditions of the workers in the more backward countries improved, Marxism was not retained as a creed. This is exactly what happened in Germany after the end of the 90's and the turn of the century. The German worker had acquired a stake in the German socio-economic and political set-up and he responded by relegating the Marxian creed to the status of a pious memory and a propagandistic device. When the opportunity to realize socialism knocked at the German door it got but scant response. The orthodox did not know how to build socialism—Marx had given no recipe for it; and the Russian example seemed to the majority of workers entirely discouraging; the unions knew only the technique of improving hours and wages, of running social security institutions and cooperatives, but socialism? And after a lost war?

A great change

I shall never forget the picture of a socialist parade in Berlin toward the end of 1918. A huge mass of workers, well-ordered and marshaled, marched down *Unter den Linden;* red flags were abundantly displayed, signs with revolutionary inscriptions prevailed. A look at the workers' battalions revealed the old guard marching beside the young generation. Under the same standards and banners—what a difference in the expressions of the faces. The older members of the party marched up like pilgrims in sight of the Holy Shrine, full of confidence that this was the Day, inspired by the thought that they had lived to see their socialistic expectations materialize. The younger generation harbored no such high hopes. They had gone through a union education and knew that no Utopia lurked behind the clouds. To most of them the Marxian promise was a vague thing, but higher wages and shorter hours were reality. To most of them Marxism never had been what it was for the old guard: a creed that replaced the old Christian creed and had to be believed with the fervor with which Christianity had to be believed. The old guard was nourished on the strength and profoundness of Christian fundamentals, the young one had never experienced the depth of faith in any Absolute, and therefore it was unable to embrace any belief wholeheartedly. What had happened to explain this difference between the two generations? Gurian states it in a few words: liberty, political democracy had become self-evident formulas; therefore "the élan of the movement peters out and hardens into a conservative reactionary watchword, and, what is worst of all, it lives on the strength of the very order which it pretends to deny and to attack."

Thus a very definite ambiguity characterized post-war Marxism. It still was not prepared to drop the revolutionary terminology because it had a ring to the older generation and was useful to frustrate the attacks from the communistic left. Such an attitude was possible as long as the fake-prosperity (1924-1929) lasted; it offered the basis for a resolute policy of wages and social insurance. But what if a long drawn-out depression should occur? Marxists would be caught between a non-obligatory phraseology and a hopelessly weakened unionism. And this is exactly what happened after 1930. Without going into any details it may be said that Marxism failed to master the crisis and therefore became its victim.

However, movements of such a comprehensive and deep influence on whole generations do not simply vanish into the thin air. There may be a hang-over that cannot be forgotten, at least as long as the generation which drew its inspirations from a movement lives on. The ghost of Marxism lingers in many countries, the totalitarian countries not excluded, and it may linger for a long while to come. On the other hand it cannot be doubted that a great impetus was given to totalitarianism exactly from the disenchantment with Marxism among the working masses. It aided that impetus which the opponents of Marxism had given the forces of fascism so far as it posed as counter-Marxism. Disillusionment with Marxism among millions of workers (first of all among the long-term unemployed) and the "anti-Marxism" of the middle classes cooperated in swelling the ranks of totalitarianism.

Its legacy

Yet Marxism raised certain social and political conflicts to the dignity of total issues; it transferred them into the realm of a philosophy of life, of a *life-theory* as Gurian terms it. Marxism

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claimed the exclusive truth for its philosophy of life; therefore the Marxian practice had its unfailing foundation in this theory. However, it turned out that Marxism was only a theory *opposed* to practice. Yet, on the assumption that theory and practice are one, Marxism had pushed forward the *total politization,* or, at least, the idea that life must be totally politicized. The political and social impetus of Marxism had made great strides toward "socializing" and publicizing increasingly spheres of life hitherto "private." A belief in a supreme importance of the socio-political domain arose and spread. The miscarriage of Marxist theories does not entail the simultaneous cessation of this belief. It may continue to exist even when the rest of Marxism has come to nothing. With the rise of the national myth superseding the class myth the total politization foretold and urged by Marxism became a definite fact. The politico-social domain became the hub of the universe from which everything else derives, to which everything else refers, and for the benefit of which everything else is sacrificed. To Marxism, society was a mere organization of social classes each of which centered around an interest. Marxism offered the prospect of a totally organized society of the future.

We may go a step further by saying that society in Germany before the advent of totalism was already so thoroughly "organized" and so permeated with artificial social structures that the National Socialist organization could proceed on a trail blazed and well-trodden. In addition, the percentage of the population dependent on jobs was so high and the crisis of capitalism so intense that salvation by socio-economic reorganization enforced by the government appeared as a "natural" solution. To be sure, to Marxism total politization was not a final aim but a means to the Utopian end; but the reality which survived Marxism was just this total politization now playing into the hands of the sworn anti-Marxists. In the long process of de-humanization which took place in Central Europe Marxism had played its definite rôle: it had educated the mind and the will of the laboring classes toward accepting a mechanized society as the ideal solution. It had educated the mind and the will of the masses to look on society as a class-torn reality; nazism had but to change the catchwords and to define the new enemies, the new trench to be taken and to be held. This explains why the transition from the Weimar republic to nazism proved so easy, and why the workingmen of Germany—with the exception of certain groups —accepted nazism so readily. If society is only an organized total of human beings each one readily fitting into and complying with its unit, then de-humanization (in the meaning of social mechanization) is bound to occur. It has occurred; its occurrence has even been hailed as a great achievement, as the climax of social efficiency. The Leviathan has risen applauded by its victims. But the illusion will not last long. At long last the children of the victims will bewail the surrender of their human rights.

Other elements

Justice demands that we acknowledge the part modern industrialism and capitalism played in the politization of society. Justice, too, demands us to acknowledge that the activities of trade unionism largely tended—whether they knew it or not—toward a *status personae* for the worker, toward social legislation and labor's cooperation with regard to the labor contract; all this opposed and tentatively neutralized the pressure toward impersonalism and de-humanization implicit in modern industrialism. This is certainly correct. But what about orthodox Marxism? In fact, what about Marx himself? His studied amoralism based on both Hegelian influences and a positivistic approach to the analysis of society caused him to accept exactly this impersonalism, this trend toward society as the Leviathan; in the development of an industrialized society he saw an inescapable necessity; of course, if all being is reasonable and all reasonable is being, Marx objected to all moral objections against the capitalistic order, and he claimed necessity for this order and its phenomena. Therefore he accepted the socialization, the politization, or however we choose to call this phenomenon, of man and life; implicitly he accepted the de-personalization which after all means de-humanization. It does not excuse him in any way that he spoke of freedom and equality of men after capitalism had yielded to communism. Even his communistic society would be an all-embracing, all-comprehensive, that is totalitarian, society. The values of the eighteenth century enlightenment were indeed deeply ingrained in Marx; his thinking never got beyond belief in progress, freedom, equality; neither did he ever give up his faith in the typical enlightenment doctrine of a harmonious order embracing all mankind if only the Kingdom of Reason were established. He saw his intellectual task in demonstrating that the capitalistic system was but a necessary stage in the process of materialization of this realm of freedom and social harmony. So he accepted the trend toward impersonalism and politization inherent in capitalism and industrialism but linked it up with the ideology of freedom, progress, equality, and harmony.

Marxism was *one* of the powers that paved the road to totalism. Today we are apt to overlook the rôle liberalism already had played. Both political and economic liberalism had erased the political and social intermediary structures of society which had characterized the past. Only two spheres were left, the political sphere, the state, reduced to a mere tool of society and, there-

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fore, minimized, and the sphere of individual activities and responsibilities, split into the "market" on the one hand and so-called private life divorced from all public character and responsibilities on the other. The practice of individualistic liberalism as expressed in the capitalistic system implied for the working masses a minimization of their private life (through long working hours, woman and child labor, etc.), the paramount importance of their relationship to the (labor) market and a minimized or hostile relationship to the political sphere. Out of the struggle for security and stability on the all-important labor market grows the trade-union movement. It necessarily accentuates the significance of the market for the workers. It cannot but stress the meaning of the social (i.e., non-private) sphere of life.

Again, the political labor movement focuses its attention on the state and on government, thereby increasing the meaning of public, i.e., non-private, life for the working classes. It is understandable that the workers' movement sought salvation for the proletariat more or less exclusively in the sphere of "public," that is political and social, life. Union control of the labor market and proletarian control of the political machine seemed to be all and everything, the true workers' *Realpolitik*. Private life in all its forms seemed to be negligible if not a hindrance to class-policy. Let us not forget that religion was included in the sphere of private life. So it did not count for any *Realpolitik*. In its stead there rose "the market" as the only non-political yet actually public sphere. To a secularized worker's mind—and what mind did not become secularized in the nineteenth century?—salvation seems to lie either in the market —hence the emphasis on unionism—or to be tied to the necessary development of the capitalistic market society toward a new order—socialism.

This attitude—with sporadic exceptions—characterized the nineteenth century until the 90's. Then, with the extension of the suffrage, with the beginning of social security legislation and with the unrest of the unskilled and their organizations, there arose another trend, the trend to shift the workers' attention to the government as an instrument for the workers' interest. Market and government, however, are public and political realities. If trust is put in them and if they are made to yield everything, then the total publicization and politization is well on the march. And one day, the very state which is charged with responsibilities which the partners in the economic struggle refused to acknowledge may declare that which it *had,* actually, to perform to be its own principle and may accept it with all its consequences. The state may say—as it did in Germany—all right, I am willing to take over all the functions you shifted to me, but I am not willing to continue as your jackass. I claim the whole sphere of political and market life to be my domain; I politicize everything in order to prevent anarchy and destruction of political and social order. I deny your claim that there exists anything like a private sphere and inalienable rights. What the early opponents of liberalism, men like de Maistre, de Tocqueville, Cortes and others had predicted decades ago, happened.

Secularization

Let us not overlook the tremendous rôle which secularization had played in this process. Religion, step by step, had lost its hold on society; the morality it professed and taught had been replaced by a secularized ethics of competition ruled by self-interest exclusively. The great inroads of secularization into the working masses were engineered most of all by Marxism. Salvation became an intramundane problem centered around the share in economic wealth which a social group could get. Material values ruled supreme—what dividends were there in religion? None. But there were in the state, the market and market organizations. With the secularization of the mind a safety-valve of decisive importance had become blocked up. The secularized groups stampeded the state and the markets to claim their share. The political and public sphere attained supremacy and all-importance. Compared with them nothing counted any longer. The dispossessed and disinherited put all their hopes and all their metaphysical urge into the state and into social control. The hour had come for the totalitarian èlites.

In yet another regard Marxism has its historical share in the catastrophe of our modern time. For the uses of class war it had coined the antagonistic categories of proletariat and plutocracy (bourgeoisie) and it had explained current history as a necessary development in those categories. For millions of workers class war between proletarian and bourgeois was the primitive explanation of all that happened. Totalism accepted this interpretation but gave it a nationalistic twist: the totalitarian powers are the proletarian powers who fight the decadent plutocracies for their share in the political and market sphere. The poor proletarian powers declare war to the finish on the plutocrats; they boost war (just as Marxism had done with class-war) as the only and safe road to salvation of the totalitarian nation. All goodness and all virtues are inherent in war, and the opponents must be crushed and will be crushed. Note the analogies to Marxism: the plutocratic powers stand in the way of the proletarian powers, and that means in the way of progress. Note the further analogy: the middle sized states have no right to exist, they obstruct the way to reorganization, political ordering, continental welfare and peace. They have to disappear just as the small

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and middle class employer, the peasant, the urban middle groups have to disappear according to Marx. Note further the transformation of a genuine Marxian idea in the totalitarian claim that the totalitarian nations are the strong, promising young nations fighting for their own against the decadent, exploiting old nations. And note, last but not least, the further claim that the reign of totalitarian nations will bring the Third Reich—a Millennium of peace, order, welfare for all. What else is this claim but another version of the Marxian Kingdom of Freedom, the communistic millennium of a classless society? Substitute the nationalistic and political categories in the place of the social and economic ones, and the intimate affinity and kinship between Marxism and totalism becomes apparent.

And yet there is, in spite of all similarity, a basic difference between Marxism and totalism. Marxism grew up under the influence of Western humanism; it, therefore, believed in freedom, equality, democracy, progress, in short in things the deepest root of which was the formula that man is good. Exactly here is the point of departure for nazism. It inherited the "colonial" tradition of a Prussia which had no part in the grandeur of the middle ages, which had no share in the renaissance, humanism and enlightenment. Its heritage was the Prussian state, sanctified by a Lutheran theology of the utter wickedness of man. Totalism of the nazi brand lacks any trace of Western humanism, because it neither believes in nor appeals to the goodness of man. Yet the only attempt to realize Marxism took place in a country which also had no share in the middle ages, in the renaissance, in humanism and enlightenment, namely in Russia. Hence Bolshevism has that close kinship and affinity with National Socialism which so often has been noted. In the light of this it becomes explicable why nazism proved so mercilessly hostile to Marxism in Germany—but made its peace with Russian Bolshevism. The image of man and society as it is conceived in the two Eastern powers, Prussia and Russia, rises in our hectic age and wages war against that image of man and society for which the West has stood.

Flight From Eire

By BARRY BYRNE

JAMES JOYCE was the product and the victim of his age; the product, because his literary career was a full response to the prevalent tendency toward obscurity in meaning—an obscurity which also appeared in abstract and surrealist painting—the victim, because like these movements in painting his art concluded in a dead-end of esotericism. He was the major and most advertised literary enigma of our time, far surpassing Gertrude Stein, his more superficial rival for publicity honors. That she should vent her jealousy of his greater fame in her reported characterization of him as "just an Irish politician" is not difficult to understand. The obscurity she cultivated had the grimace and concealment that suggested a child's false face. Joyce made a better and more impressive job of concealing his meaning. Efforts at the removal of the mask that was his literary style only revealed a more subtle, underlying impenetrability. This was deeply, even perversely, artful and had as its background a profound and disquieting erudition. His equipment was essentially that of a poet, but a poet who appeared to disdain his audience. Like his painter contemporaries, Picasso, Braque and Léger, he used the literary medium as they used that of painting in the effort to produce a pure, timeless art, one that was to be analogous to pure music in its lack of discernable objective meaning.

A characteristic of Joyce's period was the accentuation of parts, facets or details, in an effort to give them an importance which did not accord with their subordinate and contributing value. This resulted in developing and magnifying parts to such a degree that a sense of the whole was impaired; and the spread of this tendency was undoubtedly assisted by the prestige and influence of scientific investigation and analysis. The response of both painting and literature to this disintegrating tendency was natural and inevitable. As an experimental procedure this development of aspects, or parts, promised valuable results to the arts by contributing matter appropriate to development and progress. It is to be noted, however, that the most apparent result has been the elaboration of fragments and an increasing tendency toward the esoteric. The end would now seem to be in sight for these movements in literature and painting, involved as they are in a cult of obscurity; there is needed a human and spiritual content if a new artistic synthesis is to be created around such experiments. The revolutionary approach and nature of these experimental efforts, their denial of the tradition of their art, as well as of traditional spiritual values, has operated against producing this necessary synthesis. The turn toward Freud (as in surrealism) and toward Marxism generally in the arts was largely inspired by the feeling of need for such a synthesis.

Joyce, proceeding away from the continentally inspired naturalism of his early "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man," appears to have responded fully to this tendency toward obscurity. In "Finnegan's Wake," his last book, there is no discernable meaning; we find the music of words an end in itself, rather than a means for the expression of ideas. His ascribed purpose was to create a timeless history, a purpose which seems to have obsessed him for his more intelligible and

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earlier book, "Ulysses," displayed something of the same design. The obscurity of "Ulysses," however, is more like that usual to poets and is one of partially revealed ideas, which are of the kind that invite the imagination and furnish it with material for its own play based on and inspired by the poet's theme and developed by his aptitude for suggestion. In "Finnegan's Wake" obscurity becomes the end and purpose of the book. And it cannot be denied that Joyce's linguistic ability and erudition gives it a curious and involved richness which assures the reader that this is more than mere surrealistic, automatic writing.

As the book is not understandable, and as there is lacking any authorized interpretation of it, I can offer no proof for my strong conviction that the music of its strange words conceals a completely thought out literary content. This conviction, however, is so strong in my mind that it would not have surprised me if Joyce, who had a great deal of the Shavian in him, had ultimately published a lucid rendering of its contents. To be in character, of course, this publication would have appeared only after the critical pundits had finished acclaiming and denouncing him. Whether such a translation would have contributed to our exaltation of spirit or to that feeling of horror inspired by Molly Bloom's abysmally obscene reverie in "Ulysses" is a question which cannot now be answered. There is of course the further possibility that his final gesture of disdain for the world he knew, including his following, will be made completely evident by the appearance of a posthumous and literate "translation" from his own pen.

Joyce as he revealed himself in his first, and frankly autobiographical, book summed up the cynical disillusionment of a sensitive Irish intellectual who was too hurtfully conscious of a type of life and environment unsupportable to him. Not that he could ever escape that life, for he was too completely a part of it, but he could escape from the environment, and he did. This flight and self-imposed, life-long exile is somewhat symbolic of a willful and perverse rejection of a type of life in which he was naturally and spiritually involved. This life, judging from his books, impregnated his entire being. His rejection of it grouped together both Church and Eire and all they represented as things from which he would separate himself, no matter what self-cruelty the violence of this deed made necessary. This motivating disdain implies no rejection of bourgeois values but appears, on the evidence of his books, to have been the outcome of an outraged sense of bourgeois repectability. Such respectability, while not exclusively a norm of the Irish people, has enormous value to them, never greater, it may be added, than when the condition is lacking. Joyce's rebellion had none of the earmarks of having a spiritual basis. He became one of the lost generation of artists who begged the question of the soul and its needs, not by denying its existence, but by ignoring it. That this non-spiritual attitude ultimately involved the destruction of natural as well as spiritual values in art we now see as inevitable. He was obviously not a heretic of the grand order for if he had been he might have stayed and fought for his heretical convictions. His non-spiritual rebellion did not beget even heretical convictions but promoted, rather, that view of life in which half-sick tolerance, or smiling skepticism, became the standard mental attitudes. His was the artistic expression of this point of view, although his mental robustness places him in a very different category. Fittingly enough he sought in his last book to glorify the question mark, for he wrote in "Finnegan's Wake" "latin me that my Trinity scholard," and it stands as an expression of his skepticism made tolerable by an Irish grin.

Joyce's life as expressed in his art was not a struggle against a condition he opposed; it seems rather to have been an inward and unresolved struggle between what he was, intrinsically, and the artistic rôle he devised for himself. This cleavage in a personality attains something of the character of an offense against nature, and the character of this offense is not particularly changed by the fact that the area of action is in that spiritual region from which art issues. For Joyce was an artist, and potentially a great artist, and his rejection of his traditional background was close to being a rejection of his innate self. It had the seeming effect of limiting his capacity for the full expression of his undoubted genius. His flight from the Irish romanticism which surrounded him, and against which he was also in rebellion, led him far but into an area where a deadening of the spirit was the accepted thing. This, in the case of a poet with a capacity to illuminate life, has all the elements of tragedy.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY, at Antigonish, Nova Scotia, held a faculty meeting on March 5 last, which resulted in a communication being unanimously agreed upon by president and faculty, in the form of a letter addressed to the writer of this column in THE COMMONWEAL, the full text of which is given below.

This university has already attained high influence extending far beyond its own community and its native province and in its own nation, Canada, by initiating and leading a movement in adult education, and, even more important, in democratic cooperation among workers in the fields, the mines, the fisheries, the forests and the small industries of Nova Scotia. The movement became a great one, in the growth of the numbers beneficially en-

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gaged in it and in the great promise it brought of affording ever-increasing alleviation of the fundamental economic problems of our day—provided always, of course, it could be continued in a climate of liberty, as part of the democratic procedures of free men and women.

It is significant that at this critical moment St. Francis Xavier University should issue the statement given below. In doing so it revives the ancient and fruitful habit of Catholic universities of taking a vigorous and positive part in those fundamental controversies in the fields of ethics and morals, and of course of theology, which are at the very roots of all problems in economics, politics and statesmanship. It is much to be desired that our American Catholic universities and colleges and learned societies should be inspired by this action of St. Francis Xavier University and should take up, freely discuss and speak out the minds of their leaders on the great question of today—the inner nature of the war. The statement of the Canadian university faculty is as follows:

> In response to your recent letter, the president and members of the faculty of St. Francis Xavier University express their unanimous appreciation of the disinterested efforts you are making to clarify the issues involved in the present world conflict.
>
> As founders and promoters of a social movement for the betterment of the lot of the common people—a movement which affects the lives of hundreds of thousands—they view with grave concern the trend on the part of totalitarian régimes to suppress not only all free associations of this kind but the very religious and cultural tradition upon which the Christian concept of the human personality is based and to which it owes its spiritual development.
>
> As citizens of a state whose governing principles were framed and are practiced in the spirit of Christian tradition, they consider it their solemn duty to defend their rights to the utmost extent.
>
> As upholders and teachers of Christian principles they are certain that far greater issues than those involving material consideration are at stake. They are well aware of the deplorable conditions under which their persecuted brethren in Germany and the German-occupied countries of Europe are forced to live. They feel that any attempt to conceive this war as a repetition of a long series of imperialistic conquests and rivalries does not do justice to the fundamental issues involved.
>
> They feel that this war will decide whether or not a few leaders, responsible to no one, together with a vast bureaucracy, will rule these European states and other countries, in conditions in which freedom of worship becomes an empty phrase—whether or not children will have the opportunity of attending government-supported schools in which Christian principles are taught and appreciated, whether or not religious orders, religious societies and religious institutions, will be allowed to function.
>
> As members of the Church they feel that if her teachings are disregarded and the mission entrusted to her by her Founder ignored, no real peace will ever be restored to the world. It is their sincere conviction that Christianity alone, when rightly known and practiced, is the salutary antidote for the neo-paganism and pseudo-mysticism of totalitarian rule and ideology.
>
> In view of these considerations, they feel that they would be definitely remiss in their duties as men, as citizens, as teachers and as Christians if they did not lend their fullest support to the prosecution of this war, the issue of which is of such paramount importance from all these points of view.

Communications

LATIN AMERICAN SEMINARS

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: Last summer in Mexico City, the first seminar under Catholic direction was inaugurated. Originating in the success of the Charles Carroll Forum of Chicago, this cultural project drew its participants largely from that city and the Middle States. The lecture program in Mexico City was organized in such wise as to give the American members of the seminar an opportunity to hear eminent authorities on Mexican history, art and religion. Side trips to Cuernavaca, Taxco, Puebla, Guadalajara and Orizaba gave everybody a chance to glimpse the rich variety of the Mexican scene. The experiment was adjudged a success.

This year, it is proposed to expand the scope of the plan. The Mexican seminar will be retained and developed under my direction. Other seminars will be supervised, embracing principal centers of South American culture, concentrating attention upon Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. Plans are also projected for special summer school opportunities in Peru under the direction of Dr. Victor Andres Belaunde. Dr. Belaunde, of the Catholic University of Lima, recently accompanied a large group of visiting students to the United States and has been heard on a number of important forums as a leading exponent of Latin-American affairs and ideals. Opportunities for field trips into the interior will be accorded. The cooperation of competent South American and US scholars will be enlisted. The common spiritual heritage of the American Republics will be emphasized. It is understood that these groups will be affiliated with the program of the Institute of Ibero-American Studies at the Catholic University of America.

Additional information is available by addressing my office at the Catholic University of America.

JAMES A. MAGNER.

WAR

Midland Beach, N. Y.

TO the Editors: There must be a war coming, boys! They're in again. The same old muddy minded liberals giving till it hurts—civic virtue for industrialists, labels for the enemy, contraceptives for the poor. Iscariots of France, move over.

JOHN MONAGHAN.

Notre Dame, Ind.

TO the Editors: Several weeks ago I signed a letter jointly with other Catholics regarding American food for the peoples of the conquered territories of Europe. This joint letter urged that in the interests of these people and of humanity in general we Americans should not force Britain to break its blockade for the passage of American food.

This was the most difficult decision I have had to make on the current international situation. I have not, however, regretted making it. There is a compassion every

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human person feels for the stricken people of the conquered territories. But there is a greater compassion every intelligent person must experience for the future generations in these countries, and for the very national souls whose existence is threatened by the forces of nazi nihilism.

Today these small nations are enslaved. Tomorrow, by reason of British blood and American material aid, these nations will be free. Some of us refuse to help make their slavery permanent by attempting to force the British blockade. The nazis, of course, would permit the feeding of these populations only if such action would promote their unrighteous cause. I refuse to promote this cause by helping arouse popular opinion against the blockade.

It seems to me that the pleas for immediate relief of the conquered populations are the result of a disquieting blindness as to the nature of the destructive forces at work today. If I believed that the present war was merely one of the old imperialistic variety, I would not hesitate to support Mr. Hoover. But if this is a war, as I believe it to be, not for markets or for territory mainly, but a struggle for the possession of the human soul, permitting no compromise with the forces of nihilism, the position of Mr. Hoover and others is untenable.

FRANCIS E. MCMAHON.

FOOD AND NEWSPRINT

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: "The French Balance Sheet" published as first editorial in the New York *Times* on March 14, 1941, shows an interesting distribution of donations made by the Germans to the French. While foodstuffs released to the French amount to 320,000 tons; coal, iron and fuel supply amount to 230,000 tons, it is newsprint which reaches the top figure with 500,000 tons.

While the nazis have published this record of their good deeds to prove their spirit of generosity and humanitarianism, these figures show conclusively that the French are fed with propaganda rather than bread.

MARGARET STEVENS.

THE STATE OF MUSIC

New Orleans, La.

TO the Editors: I take it for granted you are a "Mr." and not a member of the feminine branch of the human race, judging by the style of your writing. I am referring to your article, "The State of Music" (March 7). You took in a large territory, Mr. Balliett. It was a critical survey all right, but I for one beg to differ in opinion with your breakdown methods.

I feel sure you are honest and sincere in your opinion. I would not start a controversy with you, if that was not the case. I won't argue with you about your alphabetical abbreviations and the numerical values you quote. That may be all true or it may not be true, it does not matter. I won't argue with you about the fact that you have it in for the Met and are all for the Philadelphia Opera Company. That is a question merely of personal taste and perhaps in your case of personal hurt.

However, the most lamentable thing about your whole article is that you are forgetting the background of the average American listening public. Maybe you felt the urge to write, to damn, to give way to your feelings.

May I draw your attention to the fact that the average public is to be educated? Now the radio, concert hall and the opera, especially so the Met, have worked hand in hand to do just that. Musical appreciation in this country, Mr. Balliett, was at a terrific low level. And the three organizations you refer to and so unjustly condemn are the ones to be congratulated for the magnificent job they have done in the past decade or so. You may not realize this, but they had to start from the bottom up. They are still trying to find their way around and they are succeeding beyond expectation. You have to give a child nursery rhymes before it will get educated sufficiently to appreciate a Eugene O'Neill.

I hope the American public may receive from you at some other time something more upbuilding than it received this time.

HENRY HOLLEMAN.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I agree with Father Holleman that the radio has done a splendid job for musical appreciation in the US. Its symphonic broadcasts—and the opera, too, with due credit to the present sponsor, Texas Company—have been genuinely in the public interest. But I cannot agree that the opera and concert hall should be forgiven their sins because of an immature public taste. Here Father Holleman brings up a matter which I should have touched upon, had I found the space—the music appreciation "racket," as Virgil Thomson, composer and critic, has called it. Insofar as organized music appreciation movements tend to vulgarize the performance of music and to glorify the mediocre, they should be condemned, and roundly. Why music should be singled out for this sort of pandering, I do not know. One is not told that the way to appreciate literature is to start by reading the Rover Boys, or that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a valuable introduction to the art of the theatre. If we are to discuss music at all in print, let us hold to esthetic principles, as we do with the other arts. I do not see how music can flourish otherwise.

CARL BALLIETT, JR.

FARMS

Sugar Grove, Pa.

TO the Editors: The key to the solution of the problems set forth in your good Farms number (March 14) can be given in one word—*vocations*—individual and family vocations to the apostolate of social reconstruction not merely on a secular, but on a definitely and whole-souled Christian basis. Such reconstruction could be brought about by a revival, according to modern circumstances, of that tradition which laid the basis for the highest Christian culture we have yet seen, the Benedictine tradition of the land, the crafts *and* the Liturgy. From a Christian point of view it is of scant use to feed men's bodies if their souls are not nourished just as soli-

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citously, of little use to work for temporal security unless the work is of a kind which makes not only for eternal "security" in an absence of wrongdoing, but for sanctity, an abundance of "wholesome" (or "holy") work. For most men the best path to sanctity is that which permits the full use of all man's faculties in a whole and integrated life, spiritually motivated. This life is found in fullest measure close to the land. It has well been said that "a divorce from nature will sooner or later involve a divorce from the supernatural." There is need, then, for individuals and families to learn, to practice and to teach the way of the green revolution.

An opportunity is provided. There has been begun, upon a large tract of land in Pennsylvania, owned by St. John's Abbey, "a school of Christian social reconstruction, in the spirit of Saint Benedict and after the pattern of the Danish folk school." Catholic graduates of agricultural and professional schools who wish to return to God the fruits of those gifts with which He has endowed them, Catholic craftsmen of the tradition of the late Eric Gill, who want to live that tradition most fully, Catholic agrarians who have not lost their tradition, can here muster their united strength to reconstruct society in the only practical way; first in the minds and hearts of men and then, literally, from the ground up. All who build here are assured of permanent tenure.

RAY SCOTT.

CONCERNING HENRI BERGSON

New Haven, Conn.

TO the Editors: In his comments on Bergson, in your issue of March 7, Dr. A. S. Oko states that the French philosopher "was at no time of his long life even remotely identified with the Jewish community. I doubt whether he ever took part in a Jewish cause; he never came to the defense of his persecuted people." In her reply, Mrs. Maritain draws attention to the evidence Bergson gave, shortly before his death, of his solidarity with his people.

It is true that Bergson's published writings contain no specific evidence of his interest in questions connected with the social or political aspects of Judaism, or of his attitude toward such problems. However, in a book entitled "Bergson, mon Maître," by Mr. Gilbert Maire, published in 1935, and consisting mainly of reminiscences of, and conversations with, the author of "Creative Evolution," I find the following enlightening statements, made probably around 1912, and which, in the interest of your readers, I have taken the liberty to translate:

> The Dreyfus case is still weighing heavily over our political horizon. Do you wish to know my opinion on this subject? For a long time, I have believed in the guilt of my co-religionist; the Henry forgery has made me incline toward a belief in his innocence and has, at any rate, made me an advocate of revision. Nevertheless, I have always blamed the perturbatory methods used to obtain it, and which have transformed into a deplorable civil war an affair which, in my opinion, could have been maintained on the purely judiciary plane. I have never shared in the Dreyfusian enthusiasm and, in the Dreyfus case, I have cast the blame on everybody. As you can imagine, such an attitude has exposed me to the hostility of both groups.
>
> Let us now turn to the Jewish problem. I am very glad that you ask me the question quite frankly, and I feel no embarrassment in answering you. I need not tell you that I disapprove of anti-Semitism, in the first place because I am a Jew and have always proclaimed myself to be one, in the second place because this doctrine seems to me vulgar even more than barbarous, based as it is on a racial theory which is grossly arbitrary and superficial and not amenable to distinctions in a matter where it is above all necessary to make distinctions.
>
> I do not deny the existence, among Jews, of certain racial traits which isolate them, but do these traits really form a homogeneous block as claimed by their enemies? As a Jew, I have been forced to observe rather the contrary. There is a Jewish materialism, but there is also an idealism; there is a revolutionary Messianism, but there is also a conservative spiritualism. Christianity is an offshoot of Judaism, at least in part, and I find this derivation quite natural. In one word, in discussing the Jews, taken as a whole, one exposes oneself to the same difficulties and the same mistakes as in generalizing about the English and the French. And that is where I see above all in anti-Semitism either a mass of prejudices, or a specious method and, ordinarily, a justification of the latter by the former.
>
> Anti-Semitism therefore sets the Jewish problem in a wrong light, but this is where I differ with many of my co-religionists, for the Jewish problem remains and, in my opinion, must be faced. It resolves itself, at bottom, to a question of naturalization. All aliens, whether Jews or not, are far from being worthy of citizenship and that is where I cannot follow those who would appeal to Jewish solidarity. This solidarity, which I am the first to recognize and to practice, must cease if it runs counter to the national interests which naturalized Jews have above all the duty to respect and serve. They do not always respect them and thus contribute in providing some semblance of justification to anti-Semitism. As for me, I shall never oppose my quality of Jew to that of Frenchman nor, for that matter, to that of Christian. Many of my friends, and perhaps the best, are fervent Catholics, to mention only Edouard Le Roy.

CHARLES DONNE.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Having myself been much interested in Madame Maritain's recollections of Henri Bergson published in THE COMMONWEAL, the ensuing criticism of Dr. Oko and Madame Maritain's reply, I was also much interested in the testimony of Pierre Lazareff in his article on "French Spirit vs. Nazi Peace" in the March number of *Decision*. Thinking the readers of your review would be glad to know what Pierre Lazareff, who was the editor of *Paris-Soir*, has said of Bergson, I quote:

> Henri Bergson, the greatest philosopher of our day, was unable to survive the misfortunes which befell his country. As soon as the Vichy Government decreed its anti-Semitic measures, Henri Bergson tendered his resignation as Honorary Professor at the Collège de France, and when Field Marshal Pétain wanted to grant him exemption, Bergson declined to accept.
>
> All this is well known. But what is not known—and what considerably enhances the gesture—is that Henri Bergson, who refused to become an Honorary Aryan, had been converted to Catholicism some ten years previously. He was a sincere Catholic, but he kept it a secret. And now, in this moment of crisis, he chose to keep his secret.

MARGARET SUMNER.

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The Stage & Screen

They Walk Alone

THE LONDON THEATRE seems to have a predilection for psychological horror dramas, and has given us some excellent flesh-creepers; but when the psychology, or rather the pathology, can be understood only by pathologists, and in addition there is no suspense or cumulative dramatic interest, we get pretty thin fare. This is what has happened in Max Catto's "They Walk Alone." The play deals with an homicidal maniac, a servant girl, who kills the village beaux when they make love to her, and then goes and plays the organ at midnight in the village church. What is the connection between murder and music is never made apparent; in fact the only thing that is apparent is the identity of the killer. This is evident from the end of the first act, and Mr. Catto has made no effort to hide its obviousness. Therefore as a mystery play, "They Walk Alone" is out. It must then be judged as a study in abnormal psychology, but, as I have said, the psychology is so vague that it can have no hold over an audience. What remains is the acting, and this is admirable. As the maniac servant girl, Elsa Lanchester has the job of making bricks without straw, and so unusual is her personality and so masterful is her technical equipment that she almost succeeds in doing it. Miss Lanchester is an extraordinary actress, and to accuse her of over-acting, as was done in one or two cases, is absurd. She has her work cut out to breathe life into an unreal character, and that she partially succeeds is a tribute to her powers. We must see her soon again in a better part. Carol Goodner as the keen-witted farmer's wife again proves what an accomplished actress she is. It is a part the antipodes of the siren in "The Man Who Came to Dinner," and yet she is equally fine in it. Miss Goodner has dignity, charm, authority and intelligence. Let us hope that she too will soon come to us under more favorable circumstances. Excellent too is a new leading man, John Moore. Mr. Moore is handsome, masculine and sure in touch. A. P. Kaye is as good as ever in a typical Kaye rôle, and Martin Manulis as a bucolic Lothario is also excellent. The performance is better than the play. *(At the John Golden Theatre.)*

Five Alarm Waltz

MR. WILLIAM SAROYAN is in himself so incredible that it would be a brave man who would try to project him onto the stage. So it took a woman to attempt it. Lucille S. Prumbs is the lady's name. Miss Prumbs completely failed. Mr. Saroyan is acrobatic, he does float through the air with the greatest of ease, but he doesn't do it physically. Mr. Saroyan's acrobatics are emotional, but his emotions are expressed in words rather than deeds. Miss Prumbs's Adam Boguris is merely a vulgar boor, which Mr. Saroyan certainly is not. What I found distressing in the play is this atmosphere of vulgarity, a vulgarity expressed in the lines and implicit in the thought. It isn't that the play is immoral, but that it is utterly insensitive. Things too aren't helped by Elia Kazan's galvanic jerkings as the genius, and Louise Platt is all at sea in the part of his wife. The best performances are given by Ann Thomas and Robert Shayne, Miss Thomas being human and excruciatingly funny, and Mr. Shayne manly. Some day someone will write a part for Miss Thomas worthy of her abilities. I want to be there to see her act in it. *(At the Playhouse.)*

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Testament of Cruelty

MAN'S inhumanity to man is frequently the subject of films, but in Warner Brothers' new version of *"The Sea Wolf"* there has been brewed the strongest doses of brutality and cruelty that any one audience could stomach. Robert Rossen has written an old-style vigorous screen play from the well-known Jack London story, and Michael Curtiz with the aid of a good cast has fashioned it into a powerful, moving melodrama. *The Ghost* is manned by the hardest bunch of derelicts, convicts, thugs as ever sailed the seas—right from "Wolf" the captain (Edward G. Robinson), who is "a brute tortured with a brain," down to its filthy cook (Barry Fitzgerald), who is a malicious, sneaking informer with a perverted sense of humor. To lead the revolt against the tyrannical captain's cruelty, there is tough, weather-beaten John Garfield who gives and takes in another of those swell performances that is really the continuation of the same embittered, fleeing-from-the-police, down-on-everyone rôle. When *The Ghost* picks up a drowning man and woman, Wolf quickly applies the law of the sea: whatever you find is yours. Ida Lupino only asks not to be returned to San Francisco. But Alexander Knox (a young Hollywood newcomer who will bear watching for his acting ability and good diction) is a peaceful, likable chap, a novelist who wants to escape from this shipload of coarsened humanity. He soon discovers Wolf's secret in Milton's "Better reign in Hell than serve in Heaven" and jeers at him as a master of brute strength who feeds on the degradation of others. None of these characters is drawn with unusual depth or understanding. While the story centers around Wolf and we learn most about him, even he remains as shadowy as the fog through which *The Ghost* takes us. You'll find "The Sea Wolf" an exciting yarn, perhaps too full of brutalities, tough mugs and melodramatics, but it has no dull moments.

Devotees of Robert Montgomery's film studies in psychopathy which he started so capably in the remarkable "Night Must Fall" are going to be disappointed in his latest endeavor along these lines. Not that *"Rage in Heaven"* is unexciting or just a mediocre thriller. Director W. S. Van Dyke has seen to it that plenty of suspense and horror were injected into this adult film about a paranoiac whose jealousy goads him into sadistic torture of his wife and best friend. But the script by Christopher Isherwood and Robert Thoeren, based on James Hilton's novel, depends too much on story and doesn't leave enough to the capable actors involved. Ingrid Bergman, with her refreshing, natural charm, and George Sanders, with his

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solid, realistic manner, do the best they can with the shallow rôles of the wife and friend. However, Montgomery strangely underplays the neurotic husband who tries to project himself into his friend's personality. He needn't, of course, have gone into wild-eyed, arm-waving histrionics, but he could have, as he has so well in other pictures, pushed to the fullest possibilities his portrayal of a mind distorted by fear, jealousy and exhibitionism. Even with its deficiencies "Rage in Heaven" provides an interesting study in schizophrenia, and absorbing entertainment in extraordinary cinema. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Books of the Week

Three Problems

The American Primer. Dorsha Hayes. Alliance. $1.50.

AT FIRST SIGHT and academically approached, Miss Hayes's little work seems sophomoric. About it clings the embarrassing quality of a boy's first speech, or of romantic idealism, of an emotion uncanalized and immature. For it is not a piece of scholarship. It is simple and unpretentious. I suspect, however, that Miss Hayes knows a great deal more than the requirements of simplicity allow her to state.

But for all that, what Miss Hayes is trying to do is put on paper an honest piece of propaganda that will neutralize the vague beliefs of the confused. Her purpose is clear. Russia, she says, and Germany got out their primers. Why don't we have one? Their primers have made out a case for their way of life. Let us give ours.

What she gives us then, are answers to her question, what have we Americans got? For those who don't know, who can't form the answers for themselves, Miss Hayes's book supplies a need. Of course the answers are rather meaningless since they don't answer the question, what we are going to get? In this connection Miss Hayes has a good description of the haunting fear of poverty, of what it is like actually to live on relief. Despite her erstwhile poverty, her actual knowledge of suffering, the psychological effects of being declassed, Miss Hayes retains an abiding belief in Americanism and the brotherhood of man. Any serious criticism of her book, then, is impertinent since this is an essay in faith.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

Into Abundance. Soren K. Ostergaard. Willett, Clark. $1.50.

HERE is a thought provoking book by a qualified man who has long pondered the problems of American wealth and poverty. Mr. Ostergaard's arguments are amply clear. America has superabundant resources for the security and contentment of all. It has a political philosophy of democracy by which each may theoretically achieve his desires. But "our economic institutions are not in accord with that philosophy," and poverty stalks in a land of abundance. How can every American be made secure without giving up the democratic way of life? As bases for his answer the author considers human motives and concludes: not by selfishness, class strife, hate, coercion, or war, which are divisive of society, but by the sole unifying force of neighborly love will Americans come into their proper happiness. Holding to the Christian and democratic principles, the author points out the

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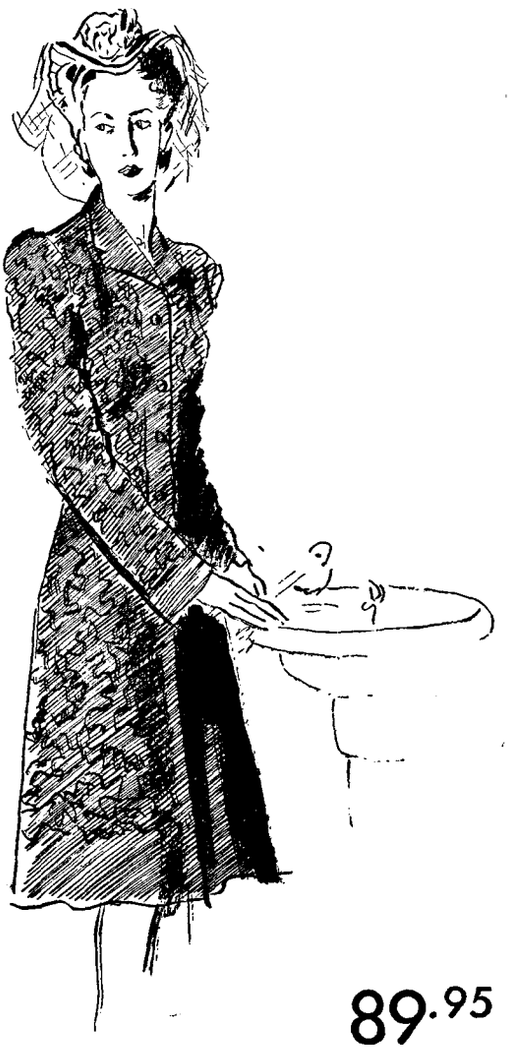

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loss of the dignity of man in the present social order, man's capacity as a real source of wealth, and a social order based upon cooperative effort and shared opportunities, designed to release man's productive capacities and to bring to each the opportunity of an enriched life. In his detailed plan for abundance for each under a voluntary Cooperative Authority, the author feels that the individual would lose nothing "except the power to deprive others." After studying the honest statements of fact, the reader must feel that something should be done about the problem of scarcity in this land of plenty.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN.

Life, Liberty and Property. Alfred Winslow Jones. Lippincott. $3.50.

A TECHNICALLY splendid report gleaned from a cross-section of one of our "one industry" towns, Akron. The most advanced methods were used to find out the attitudes of workers, professional men, clergymen and other groups on corporate property rights. The book does not purport to portray the mind of the "average American," or the average anything else. Herein it loses its validity, and the momentous work that must have gone into its making is for naught. The author admits that Akron is so unique as to prove anything but a yardstick of any large body of opinion.

For what it is, though, it is thorough and the author puts up a good front at being objective, while being persuaded of the priority of human rights to property rights. We were about to applaud when we read: " 'Social rights' are created by society. They are granted by approval and removed by disapproval. A right thus stands for the probability that social censure or blame will not follow the given action. Prohibition broke down because most persons . . . thought they had a right to buy a drink if they wanted to. In this, it turned out that they were correct, since they were not generally blamed for it."

WILLIAM M. CALLAHAN.

BIOGRAPHY

Joseph Conrad: the Making of a Novelist. John Dozier Gordan. Harvard. $4.00.

HE READ much as a boy in Russian Poland, and among his books were the sea tales of Fenimore Cooper and Captain Marryat. He was called selfish by his patriotic family for choosing as a career, in a land without a seacoast, the sea. While a mate in the British merchant service, he played with the manuscript of a novel. Years later it was finished in seamen's lodgings in London—the author jobless, sick, almost broke, nearing forty. For four years, while he married and wrote three more books, he searched persistently for a berth. His unsteady sea record and his Polish accent were against him. He then became a professional novelist, not from choice, but because he was unwanted as a ship's officer.

In analyzing the influences that shaped Conrad's early novels Mr. Gordan pictures his by-struggle to support his family. Even in his fiftieth year—praised as one of the great novelists of the time—he received less than five pounds in royalties. There is a searching inquiry into sources, especially of the Malay novels, which Mr. Gordan personally ran down in Borneo. There are discussions of the genesis and development of each story up to "Lord Jim," and a chapter describing the books' reception in the British and American press. The documentation is skilful, thorough, unobtrusive. Lovers of Conrad and

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students of the novel will find the book superbly readable.

Student writers will be absorbed in the chapter "The Growth of the Text," seventy pages long, where numerous passages from manuscripts, faithful even to cancellations and interlinear revisions, show Conrad's exact methods of reconstruction. They may watch a great stylist try for an effect, miss, try again, persist through several revisions, and emerge at last with a passage vivid and complete. Mr. Gordan's presentation is more instructive, much more exciting, than any formal treatise on style.

JAMES MC GOVREN.

Wings of Eagles. Francis J. Corley, S.J., and Robert J. Willmes, S.J. Bruce. $2.50.

MUCH of the great influence the Jesuits have had in the Church since their foundation has been due to the popularity of the Jesuit saints. Recruited from almost every race and class, with each generation adding to their number, these heroic men have won for the Society respect and goodwill that have helped it to weather many storms. The very high percentage of martyrs in their ranks is a consequence of the essentially missionary character of the Society. From London to Nagasaki the story is the same; wherever the Church is persecuted Jesuit martyrs are made. Their honor roll is long, and the authors of this inspiring book have done a useful work by presenting in a single volume a brief and clear account of all the Jesuits who are already formally canonized or beatified.

All those listed in this book belong to the period before the suppression of the Jesuits, but there are many candidates for beatification from the same period who are not included. The Irish martyrs are among those whose cause has not advanced far enough to warrant inclusion now. It is to be hoped that a later edition will list all of them and also the many Jesuits of more recent times whose lives show that in producing saints the restored Society has been no less prolific than the old.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN.

BRIEFERS

The Carrington Incident. Niven Busch. Morrow. $2.50.

A FIRST novel that manifests technical competence. Hitler régime, subject ephemeral, viewpoint consciously naturalistic, an American heroine's battle for freedom and happiness marked by a series of sordid experiences, not narrated, however, in great clinical detail. Heartening prediction of German revolution.

Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age. Joseph B. Collins. Johns Hopkins. $3.25.

THE AUTHOR sets out to establish that traditional Christian mysticism persisted in the sixteenth century in England, and may be traced in the work of many of the "Elizabethan" authors. The common attribution of these mystical elements to the influence of Cambridge and its Protestant adoption of Plato as official philosopher is amply refuted in a most scholarly and clear style. Part I of the book contains a valuable treatise on the historical evolution of the strict method of Christian mysticism. It is to be hoped that those glib commentators who detect "mysticism" in every chance sprig of pious feeling or random sigh of pantheistic yearning will buy, read and inwardly digest Father Collins's book.

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The Inner Forum

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC COMMUNITY SERVICE is launching a nationwide recreation and social program for the young men brought together from many communities at army and navy posts and at new defense industries. Its board of trustees comprises the Archbishops and Bishops of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference together with Archbishop Spellman of New York, Bishop John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., and Msgr. Ready of the NCWC, who is secretary of the board of trustees.

The statement issued by the new bishops' committee says in part: "The maintenance of the morale of our army and navy and our industrial workers in this trying period of national defense is definitely a responsibility of the Church. It is a most serious responsibility. It is part of the religious mission of the Church. There cannot be morale without character, without religious conviction, without the grace and inspiration that religion has to offer, without all the constructive forces that the Church brings into play in the family and social life of the nation. The moral standards that the Church has built up through years of struggle are now seriously threatened."

Bishop O'Hara, Military Delegate, and Msgr. Arnold, Chief of Chaplains, recently testified before the House Military Affairs Committee about the bad conditions existing near many training camps and said it was "the duty of our government to provide every possible safeguard for our men." Msgr. Arnold declared that "the uninstructed, the weak, the struggling should be protected from the propinquity of alluring temptation; the vicious should be restrained and disciplined."

The Bishops' committee is calling upon all Catholic organizations—parish, city, diocesan, national—operating in the vicinity of training camps to assume a share in the program of providing wholesome recreation for those away from home. "We must make them feel at home in the communities in which they find themselves. We must give them everything necessary to enable them to develop the character we expect in our finest citizens."

CONTRIBUTORS

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